/15 cont./

La Plata into the Magdalena Valley. Since the construction of an auto road from La Plata to Belalcázar, there is a good road connection both to the Cauca Valley and to the Magdalena Valley. From La Plata a bus goes to Garzón in four hours and to Neiva in seven hours. At the present time both cities have twice-weekly air service to Bogotá and Neiva, besides a daily train connection with the capital of the country. It takes about ten hours by bus to go from La Plata over the Central Cordillera to Popayán. From Popayán there is daily air service to all parts of the country.

Most of the archeological sites and the most important ones lie near the small village of San Andrés, on the hilltops and ranges of the valley of the same name. The place lies about six kilometers straight north of Inzá, separated from it by the Rio Ullucus and El Aguacate range. In order to get from La Plata to San Andrés, one first takes the road toward Belalcázar up the Rio Paez to Juntas, the point of confluence of the Rio Ullucus with the Rio Paez. From Juntas one must ride horseback west into the mountains for about three hours in order to reach San Andrés. This place is a village with the same characteristics as all Paez villages, that is to say, it consists of only /16/ a church, a school, the house of the town council, and a few other houses used by merchants and by the inhabitants for religious festivals. The latter, Paez Indians and colonists, live on individual farms on the slopes of the mountains along the valleys of the small streams, in a very unfavorable distribution, to be sure, as far as the Paez are concerned: the white and mixed-colored colonists live in the fertile valleys, mainly along the river courses, where they grow coffee, maize, and sugar cane, whereas the Indios must be content with the relatively unfruitful slopes.

C /104 cont./
632 includes 15 villages with Belalcázar as the administrative seat.
[103] Belalcázar, which takes its name from the conquistador Sebastian de Belalcazar, but not altogether correctly, since the latter was unable to conquer the Tierradentro area, is at the same time the
P 162 seat of the Apostolic Prefect for Tierradentro. According to the
C 162 632 census of 1938, the population of Tierradentro, consisting of mixed-colored colonists and racially pure Indios, contains 17,578 inhabitants, distributed over Belalcázar with 13,861 and Inzá with 3,717 inhabitants. The more recent count of 1951, with a total of 25,495 inhabitants, showed a considerably larger figure, of which 15,388 fall to the municipio of Balalcazar and 10,103 to
C [104] the municipio of Inzá. A comparison of the two counts of 1938 and 1951 shows /105/ a notable error in the count in the municipio of Inzá for the year 1938 (figures cited in Bernal Villa [I], p. 285).

P 641 [162] [851] [191] Of this number about 80 per cent are natives who today are largely civilized, that is, they are baptized and speak some Spanish. Politically they, too, are basically full citizens of the country; they may vote and be drafted into military service, but
P 641 423 do not pay any taxes. In one respect, however, fortunately for them, they are regarded as "minors" before the law; in their totality they own all the landed property of Tierradentro, but
P 641 423 691 648 the individual man is not in a position to sell his land. This is supposed to keep the Paez from losing their settlement area to the whites. In practice this law is not always strictly observed, for otherwise neither the colonists nor the large landowners, who are slowly but surely pushing their pasture and agricultural lands into the territory of the natives, could be in Tierradentro. The latter cannot in fact defend themselves against this, for, due to lack of money, no one among them is in a position to complain in court. If a complaint is nevertheless made, the Indios always lose, as, for example, in Itaibe, in the southeastern part of Tierradentro, where the Spaniards began to colonize as early as 1636 and where for many years lawsuits were carried on by the Indios in vain. Moreover, no judge is able to undertake anything against a rich landowner or against the missions likewise owning land.

/105 cont./

C 162 The inhabitants of Tierradentro may be divided into three groups, according to the degree of civilization: a) the colonists living south of the Rio Ullucus, who speak Spanish and have nothing in common with the Paez. In habits and customs they correspond to the general, more or less strongly mestizo, Colombian rural population. Furthermore, the population of Balalcázar, consisting predominantly of Negroes, has nothing in common with the Paez. They were brought there by the Spaniards in colonial times as slaves, in order to exploit the salt mines that were used by the Paez even in ancient times. Today salt C [316] extraction is no longer profitable. The Negroes live partly on gold-washing in the Rio Paez, which is undertaken in primitive T [563] fashion with wooden pans, the workers standing up to their knees [186] in water. The Paez do not generally intermarry with the Negroes, but, on the contrary, despise them, since they know that they at one time came there as slaves.

P 162 b) The Paez who north of the Rio Ullucus have settled 361 both banks of the Rio Paez as far north as Nevado del Huila. 563 They have in part intermarried with the white and mestizo colonist P [103] population. The /106/ places inhabited by them are: Araujo, Avirama, Belalcázar, Cuetando, Mosoco, Ricaurte, San Andrés, San José, Tálaga, Toez, Togóima.

T 162 c) The pure Paez villages of Calderas, Chinas, Huila, 103 Lame, Santa Rosa, Suin and Vitoncó. Among these the Paez P 114 of Calderas have preserved their cultural individuality most 121 purely. We worked primarily among them, and the present ma- P 181 terial, insofar as nothing is said to the contrary, refers to the 648 culture of the Paez of Calderas. The Calderun, as the inhabitants 101 of Calderas are known in the country, are by far the most unapproachable of all the Paez. They have best kept to this day the three laws of Juan Tama, the mythical hero of the Paez, which were originally strictly observed by all. These three laws say: 1. Tierradentro is solely and exclusively the land of the Paez, 2. the Paez may never intermarry with other races, 3. the Paez are invincible as long as they keep these laws. The third law in particular has well-founded justification, since for centuries

/114 cont./

361 with graveyard, the community house, festival houses, and, more recently, mission station and school are the central pole, whereas the family houses are always built in other places, but on one's own land (Ills. 146-147 /see p. 264/). Sometimes
342 one erects a house merely for one harvest, that is, for half a
361 year, in the middle of his field that is to be harvested. During the work and harvest it may then happen that a Paez family will not see its neighbors for several weeks.

361 The size of the villages varies; Calderas is one of the
[162] largest Paez /115/ communities and contains about 200 houses with approximately 1,000 inhabitants. Other villages, San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Lame, and others, are substantially smaller.
484 In each case it takes considerable time to cross a village, be-
361 cause this means, of course, crossing the entire valley basin in question. In the case of Calderas this is more than three hours
[487] for a European on horseback. The Paez, it is true, travel over the steep short-cuts much more quickly on foot.

b) The House

342 For laying out a house one looks for a building spot as
312 close as possible to a small brook, large numbers of which flow down from the slopes of the mountains and unite at the foot of the valley floor to form the Kokiyó River (literally "maize water"). When it is impossible to lay out a house directly on a brook, the water is led from above through a small ditch past the house. This, as well as any other running water, may always be drunk.
[514] It is known that the residents living above this house now and then urinate in the water, but "that does not matter at all," I was assured.

591 In principle, only one family, consisting of father, mother,
[594] and children, lives in a dwelling. The married sons must build their own houses. It is customary, however, for newlyweds to go
[342] on living in the house of the father for a time, until they have
[476] saved enough chicha and food to feed the friends who will help them build their house. In one case, however, in the house of

/178 cont./

614 bearers of the name Guagáz, the old family whose members furnish the capitan and who numerically make up about a quarter of the village. The young men of this name do not always find their wives in Calderas. They /179/ must therefore often look for them in other villages, although in general this is preferably not done. Thus we have among the Paez exogamous kin-groups, that is, groups of persons of male descent, who, to be sure, live dispersed, but have a common festival house, and who cannot marry each other because of their same name. They lack the consciousness of being descended from the same ancestor, however. Similarly, there is neither a common kin-group chief, nor special costumes, or any other common insignia. The bearers of six family names, who together make up more than 60 per cent of the population, have festival houses on the village plaza, in each of which the bearers of the same name meet for the big annual festivals, Immaculada (December 8), Semana Santa (Easter), and San Juan (June 24), and eat and drink together. The other families, who have no festival house of their own, take part in the festival houses of friends' families.

[62] [346] [55]

614 602 608 576 601

The six large families of Calderas are: Guagáz, Piñakuẽ, Petíns, Oléz, Oriága, Pechéne.

Within the kin groups, relatives play no role, but the godparents (padrino, madrina) do, and strict etiquette is observed with respect to them. Boy or girl, man or woman who meet their godparents anywhere must kneel down to receive their blessing.

The kinship nomenclature is in part more differentiated than ours. The common form of address for father and child and mother and child and the differentiated address for older and younger siblings are striking. The designations for father and mother are differentiated according to whether one speaks of one's own or of foreign fathers and mothers. One's own father is táta, the foreign one néi; one's own mother is máma, the foreign one nihí. It does not matter whether a man or a woman is speaking in the following examples:

In general
842 /184 cont./every girl desires a great
[581] many children, for this is the chief requirement for being married.
Moreover, the percentage of barren women -- in childless marriages,
● [162] they say, the fault is always the woman's -- is not small. According to inquiries, it comes to about 10 per cent. Men generally
want boys; the women, girls, in order to have help in the house-
845 hold. Twin births are rare, but they are not regarded as anything special; rather, people are happy about them as they are about other children. Deformities at birth are said not to occur; however, I saw several persons with cleft palates. They seem to be ashamed of this, for in conversations with us they always held
847 their hands over their mouths. Infanticide does not occur. To
123 inquiries about this, there was always the completely horrified counterquestion as to whether that was the case in my country.
165 Overpopulation is not to be feared, even with a larger number
[163] of children -- the average is three to four living children per family -- since infant mortality comes to more than 50 per cent.
[164] Whooping cough is the most frequent cause of death among small children.

a) Birth and Childhood

843 The parents' concern for the child begins even before birth. The husband of a pregnant woman expecting her first child must sleep with her very frequently, for otherwise the child would be very weak. In the case of subsequent children this is no longer
[783] required so often after the beginning of pregnancy. The pregnant woman may not leave the house or eat pork for two months before the birth, since this causes "pest" and she would have stomach
[822] pains; this would be very detrimental to the child. For the same reason she may not eat beans and onions, and no fish because it comes from the cold element, water, and because a pregnant woman must not become cold.

843 According to one informant, the pregnant woman retires
343 to the menstruation hut (dúyat) two to three weeks before the
124 birth. During this time her mother or another female relative cooks for the family. According to another informant, the
000 /185/ woman does not retire to the dúyat until the birth. In any

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

[121] The present object is not in any way to contribute an exhaustive monograph on the Paez, but simply to give a summary of our former knowledge of them, together with the chief results of the personal information collected during the visit referred to.

ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES

FORMER OCCUPANTS. "PLANOS DE INDIOS." HUACAS

101 174 In addition to the still existing tribes, traces of the former occupancy of the Cauca valley and the adjacent mountains by a dense Indian population are found at every step. The names of extinct groups, like the Hilamas, Ocaches, Jamundies, and others, impressed on the minds of the former Spanish inhabitants by reason of some of their more gruesome customs, have come down to the present generation, although the tribes, as such, have disappeared. Of the Hilamas and Ocaches it is said [69] they were cannibals. At present their more or less mixed 181 descendants still live in the villages of Las Pavas and Vijes, 162] near Cali; the "Paveños" have become inveterate legal fighters, keeping their judges and alcaldes constantly occupied; while the "Vijeños," on the other hand, are now so peaceful that the court-house is known to have been closed for eighteen months at a time.

101 114 Of the Jamundies I was told that they were indefatigable warriors, having fought the Spanish invaders to the last of their strength. Their name is perpetuated in that of the little town [103] of Jamundi, near which I visited the very interesting vale of Agua Sucia, which may have been one of their principal strongholds, as well as a rich gold-washing place. The hills were and still are partly covered with graves, or *huacas*, and these have [135] been found so abundant in gold objects as to have induced enterprising miners, or *huaqueros*, to conduct a stream of water from a long distance in order to completely wash the slopes. 172 I do not attempt to mention the fabulous riches that are said to have been extracted from this place and from several other no less rich discoveries. An immense amount of pottery, often highly ornamented, together with grinding-stones, hatchets,

/285 cont./

101 the Ullucos river, since to the south of it were found the Topas,
36 Yaguiváes, and Guanaca. It seems that in the fifteenth century,
[166-193] under the rule of the cacique Calambás, the Paez went over the cordillera and settled in Pitayó, Toribío, and Tacueyó.

162 [161] Dr. José Pérez de Barradas gave a number of 30,000 souls. The census of 1938 gives a total of 17,578 inhabitants distributed as follows: municipio of Páez (Belalcázar), 13,861; municipio of Inzá, 3,717. The censuses of 1951 give a total of 25,495 inhabitants, with 15,388 in the municipio of Páez and 10,103 in that of Inzá. It is obvious that the census of 1938 was defective, especially with regard to the population of this last municipio.

[177] Of this population, approximately 80 per cent is Indian, acculturated for the most part, except for those of Calderas, Suin, and Chinas, where traditions are strong and their contacts with the white scant, and in addition there is great resistance to living with him.

142 The Paez are of medium height, with light brown skin, dark brown eyes, straight black hair, broad foreheads, rather pronounced cheekbones, pentagonal rather than oval faces,
361 robust constitutions, and rather broad shoulders. Their pueblos
796 consist of a church, a school, the house of the priest and of
342 the cabildo, and a few other houses which are occupied only at the times of religious fiestas; they live in ranchos that are rectangular in plan, with thatched roofs and walls made of tight rows of maize stalks, /286/ located on privately owned land and a considerable distance apart.

291 Dress.--The Paez dress simply. The man wears linen trousers, a poncho tied to the waist with a leather strap and another that falls freely from the shoulders, and a hat which they manufacture themselves with palm or bamboo leaves. The woman wears a wide skirt tied around the waist with a multicolored band preceding the folds made at the back, a poncho similar to the one worn by the men and also tied around

/320 cont./

231 chickens were not lacking. But it was impossible to obtain trust-
124 worthy information about this wealth. A mestizo trader very familiar with the region estimates that in Calderas there must be no fewer than about 350 head of cattle, a figure that is well
[162] deserving of credit. This parcialidad has approximately 150 families. In the statistical table that we present below 55 families are represented, for many of which the data are incomplete and others have an approximate value, deduced from information by third parties and from direct observation. The statistical tables for the parcialidades of Mosoco, Lame, and San Andrés correspond to reality.

233 Lands intended exclusively for pasture do not exist, with
[311] the exception of that which, on account of its rugged topography and deforestation, covered with grasses that become green again in winter, cannot be used for anything except for pasture, with the risk, of course, that the animals might wander away. In general the animals graze in the stubble, in the communal pastures, in the shade of the brush and thickets. In Calderas, for example, most of the livestock is hidden from strangers' eyes. They eat the branches and grasses that grow on lands that were once fields. In this way they grow wild and shy, but fat and exempt from disease. To catch these animals is equivalent to going on a real hunting expedition in that trained dogs participate, and 10 or 15 men outfitted with their respective lassos and suitably distributed in especially good places for lassoing, detaining, deflecting, or directing the progress of the animal being chased by the dogs. This work is done preferably on Sundays, at the special invitation of the cattleowners, either to brand the calves or to catch a cow intended for trade, sale, or slaughter. When the work is done, a good amount of chicha is consumed. Only the livestock that grazes on the communal llano is visible to strangers and relatively tame.

232 Everyone prefers females for reproduction. The males
439 are consumed, sold, or traded for young females and, rarely, for
231 other articles. Often there is a lack of breeding bulls. In such cases the cows do not calve and are regarded as sterile, a fact that is duly exploited by the white and mestizo traders in order to

propose "trades"

/337 cont./

423 communal land, since they have a right to it and anyone can do so. Those who come from elsewhere have a right to the communal land provided that they have grown up there. In Calderas there are people from Lame who own their land because they have cleared the montaña. Nowadays there are no more montañas [591] to clear, and thus persons from elsewhere cannot come in. If a [582] Calderuno marries a woman from another parcialidad, his father-in-law or brothers-in-law must give land /338/ to his wife and the spouse thus enters the community. Thus spoke the informant.

Distribution of implements, stock, and crops

121 We are basing the distribution of implements, stock, and crops on the research carried out in the parcialidades of Mosoco, Lame, San Andrés, and Calderas.

• 162 The parcialidad of Mosoco has, approximately, some 250 families with an average of 4 children; Lame, some 130 with an average of 3 children; San Andrés, some 200 with an average of 4 children; and Calderas, some 150 families with 3 children on the average also. In Mosoco we studied 25 families, or 10% of the total; in Lame, 8 or 5.3%; in San Andrés, 15 or 7.5%, and in Calderas 55 or 36.6%. In the first parcialidad listed there is one family of a mestizo and another of a white, which are equivalent to 8% of the total families investigated; in the second, two families of whites are represented, equivalent to 25% of the total families investigated; in the third, 26.6% of the total families investigated are represented by two families of whites and two families of mestizos. No family of "whites" lives in Calderas.

/338 cont./

412 422 [162] Bearing in mind that of the 48 families investigated, 52% are from Mosoco, 16.6% from Lame, and 31.2% from San Andrés, we can make the following deductions: The average /339/ number of machetes owned by each family in the three parcialidades is two. This indicates the universality of this implement.

Implements for working the land are more numerous in Mosoco and Lame than in San Andrés, especially in the former, where shovels almost reach 4 and the small bars 2 per family. This is explained by the fact that in those parcialidades they do not need to clear the lands, but only raise the beds in the pastures.

[423] [311] The number of axes for each family in Mosoco is almost double. The reason for this is that almost all the families own land in the mountainous part called "paramo." The clearing of wooded areas is intensive in Mosoco because they still exist. In San Andrés and Lame, virgin montañas have almost disappeared.

/354 cont./

43 onions, cabbages, barley, and eggs, with which it is not possible to maintain regular trading. The Indians, without exception, buy salt and also acquire hats, shirts, trousers, machetes, shovels, bars, axes, knives, aluminum pots, cups, iron plates, spoons, candles, soap, and aguardiente. Less frequently, large and brilliantly colored kerchiefs for the children, and tweezers /pinzas/ and necklaces for the women.

439 San Andrés is a small native settlement which has been
443 inhabited by the "whites" since the settlement area was estab-
438 lished. It contains three stores that sell some merchandise,
● [162] some drugs, beer, aguardiente, and bread. Two of them have gramophones. There are also two other stores, which sell chicha and aguardiente exclusively. On Wednesdays a small market is held. In front of one of the houses, peddlers and traders from other areas display their wares; on the small plaza an awning is raised by an acculturated native woman in order to sell food, and a little farther there is a stand where meat is sold. The market starts moving at dawn. The natives bring small amounts of manioc, arracacha, white cabbage, eggs, coffee, and onions, /355/ which are bought immediately by the "whites." Then the butcher starts selling meat, usually in two-pound portions, which are what the natives buy. The peddlers sell a few trinkets and commodities. At 9:00 A.M. the liquor places
[273] begin to move. At ten in the morning the market is over, and
[578] at midday and in the afternoon only drunken natives are to be
[643] seen. At those times quarrels between them are frequent, and often the natives' aggressiveness is channeled against the "whites," as they assert that they are the true owners of the land and the settlement. The natives have the habit of selling their articles (coffee, eggs) only to persons known to them, even if others can pay them better prices.

On Wednesdays there are also markets in Guasdualejo (Togoima) and Turminá; on Thursdays in Valencia, and on
[491] Saturdays in Inzá and Belalcázar. Those of Belalcázar and Valencia, because they are connected by vehicular road with La Plata (Huila), are better attended and have a larger volume of trade. Large numbers of natives from different parcialidades

/180 cont./

583 [175] In Paris on the first of March, 1877, Esequiel Uricoechea wrote in his introduction to the Vocabulario: "Marriage in the sense in which we accept it today did not exist among the Páeces: two people lived a married life for some time and the marriage was not legalized without the previous certainty that [192] the woman was fecund. It is natural then, that we find among the Páeces, as among the Peruvians, two verbs (imi and iyó) which indicate respectively the woman accepts the man and the man takes the woman. The woman was obliged to give clothing to the husband, and he "to provide sustenance for the family" (12).

12. Castillo y Orozdo, E. del. Vocabulario Páez-Castellano /Paez-Spanish Vocabulary/, 1877, p. XIV.

Our informants from Calderas confirm the effectiveness of this custom, some justifying it by the need of the future husband /181/ to obtain the money to pay the expenses of the wedding, others in order to "catear" /sample, find out/ if the woman is honest, a worker, and faithful, and there was no lack of those who clearly stated that this trial marriage "is customary because if the woman should turn out to be machorra /barren/ there is no marriage." When such occurs the man returns the woman to her parents without any problem standing in the way, which would not be the case if they were married by the Church, in which case the return is not possible.

●162 583 595 184 Our investigations concerning the frequency of the "amaño" in the established families of some parcialidades of Tierradentro showed the following results:

Calderas: 42 families (28% of the approximate total of Calderun families). 57.1% of these families practiced the amaño: 42.9% were married first by the Church.

San Andrés: 13 families (6.5% of the approximate total of San Andrés families). 92.3% were married first by the Church; 7.7% practiced the amaño.

/181 cont./

162 Lame: 8 families (6.2% of the approximate total of Lame
583 families). 87.5% were married first by the Church; 12.5% prac-
595 ticed the amaño.

184 Mosoco: 26 families (10.4% of the approximate total of families in Mosoco). 88.1% followed the Catholic law; 11.6% practiced the amaño.

Although the percentages for the parcialidades of San Andrés and Lame may not reflect fully the real situation concerning the custom owing to the paucity of data, one can clearly see the vigor that it still has in Calderas, a parcialidad less acculturated,
581 of course, than the others. Once the man is convinced of the
594 fertility of his mate, the marriage is legalized at the altar of the
[585] Catholic Church. Then the economic co-operation of the spouses, initiated at the beginning of their married life, is stabilized and gains strength, and the marriage becomes, as one of our informants remarked, an association for the "mutual benefit of the contracting parties, to serve each other, without in any way
594 being a burden to either of them." The man enlarges his clear-
462 ings in order to take care of "the sustenance of the family," plants sugar cane and coca in order to obtain chicha and narcotic for holding mingas /work parties/, in order to celebrate religious festivals, in order to "cuidar" his relatives and to relax with his friends; he hires himself out as a peon /182/ in order to acquire money and to buy shawls for his wife, wool and cloth that the woman makes into camisas for herself, her husband, and her sons, and trousers for these last, begins to build his house, if he does not have one, on the lot that his father has assigned to him, to make a home for his family. The woman, on her part, administers the products that her husband brings to her, weaves the ruana /poncho/ and kuetand-yaha (mambe pouch /a bag for the ingredients of chews/) for the husband and children, prepares the food, raises hens and pigs, and cares for her children less than three years old (13). In this manner, among the Páez, marriage,

13. For the division of activities according to sex, see our work "Economía de los Páez /Economy of the Paez/," /published in the